

# The Republican.

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## TO THE PUBLIC.

As this cannot be altogether considered a new publication, but merely a continuation of that entitled "*Sherwin's Weekly Political Register*, which has been invariably the bold advocate of the only rational system of Government, namely, the REPUBLICAN; the Editor presumes that he need not make any apology for, or issue a new prospectus of this work, as its title needs no explanation, nor shall its object be disguised. As the honest avowal of sentiment, is becoming daily more dangerous to the Englishman, and the advocates of a full, fair, and equal representation, must inevitably be subject to frequent arrests and imprisonments, whilst the present deficient representation exists, the Editor humbly stands forward to fill the post of danger, ambitious of incurring, (if martyrs must be found) even *martyrdom*, in the cause of liberty. The question of reform is at this moment to be looked at in two points of view, the first is whether there is sufficient virtue to be found in the aristocracy and landed interest of the country to enforce it; or whether the unrepresented, and consequently the injured part of the community, must rouse and bring into action their strength to bring about that which *must* finally be enforced. I am of opinion that every opportunity has been afforded the former, had they possessed the virtue; and having neglected the opportunity, or rather having shewn a want of feeling altogether in the cause, the latter are imperatively called upon immediately to unite, to rally their strength; and I have no doubt but they will be found sufficiently formidable to carry the measure, with very little obstruction.

In the words of our famous countryman, our great and only prototype, THOMAS PAINE, we might say, "these are the times that try men's souls." The editor, impressed with the importance of the moment, has resolved, that no correspondence or essays be admitted into the pages of the *Republican*, unless accompanied with the real name and address of the author. In doing this, he is aware that he

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will exclude much talent, but the necessity of every man making a frank and candid avowal of his principles and sentiments at the present moment, far exceeds any other feelings that may be put in competition with it. He hopes that there are to be found in the country, men, not only of talent, but with sufficient property and virtue to render them men of importance and weight in society, who dare openly avow what they think necessary to be done. Most periodical publications of the day, are filled with anonymous essays, correspondence and information on various subjects, which are as many proofs of a degree of talent existing in the country, equal, or superior, to any former period; but, it cannot be denied, that those essays, &c. would produce more effect and conviction, were they signed by some individual, whose motives and moral character are unimpeachable. In noticing the talent of the age, a painful reflection occurs, that it has invariably happened in those countries which have been brought to the verge of destruction by misrule, that the greatest talents and virtues have been produced. It is the misery, which ignorant, imbecile, and wicked rulers, bring on a country, that draws forth the natural energies of the virtuous mind. It was the conduct of Cæsar, which became so fatal to the liberties of Rome, that produced a CATO. It was the miseries experienced in this country, by the incursions and ravages of the Danes, that produced an ALFRED. It was the tyrannical caprice of Charles the 1st, that produced a HAMPDEN, a LILBURNE, and a CROMWELL; and that of the Second Charles, that produced a RUSSEL, and a SIDNEY. It was the cruel and oppressive conduct of the British Cabinet towards the colonists of North America, that produced a PAINE, a FRANKLIN, and a WASHINGTON. It was the accursed despotism of the ancient regime of France, that produced the talent so very conspicuous during the revolution, which often shone as brilliant as the stars in a clear atmosphere, and was as often buried in the black clouds of anarchy and misrule, until by the efficacy of its superior virtue, it became the sun of Europe, and could never have been clouded, but by the intrigues of the British Cabinet, destroying the resources and happiness of its nation, to goad a Bonaparte to become the victim of his own ambition, and his country's ruin. It is to be hoped, that the germ of revolution is not rooted out of France, but that she will again shake off her fetters, and rescue her character. Indeed it is apparent and evident, that the tree of liberty, which was planted, and which grew and bloomed



in France, although its blossom was blasted, yet it has taken a root deep and wide, spreading over the Continent of Europe, a root that will baffle the despot, who attempts to eradicate it. By dwelling on, and illustrating subjects like these, the editor hopes to rouse a unanimous and corresponding feeling among his countrymen, by endeavouring to subvert on the one hand, the evils of anarchy, and on the other, those of despotism. He will studiously point them to that state of society, which produces the greatest benefit to the greatest portion of the community—an equal representation in the legislature. The editor pledges himself that in this publication there shall be found nothing that has a tendency to create dissension among the advocates of a change in the present state of things: to those gentlemen who call themselves moderate in their claims, he would say, I have taken my stand on the rock of republicanism; I will advocate its principles, without looking back to those who do not go so far; and should the breath of calumny be raised, I shall leave it to be dispersed by the passing breeze, conscious that a rectitude of intention will sooner or later find its reward.

R. CARLILE.

*Giltspur Street Compter, August, 22, 1819.*

### THE CRISIS.—No. I.

THE massacre of the unoffending inhabitants of Manchester, on the 16th of August, by the Yeomanry Cavalry, and Police, at the instigation of the Magistrates, should be the daily theme of the press, until the MURDERERS are brought to justice by the Law Officers of the Crown, under the instruction of the executive, or in default thereof, until the People have obtained their proper rank and station in the legislature, by an equal representation, and thereby the means of enforcing the execution of justice, which in all probability will now be withheld. When we have seen a Cashman put to death for an act, committed whilst in a state of insanity from hunger and distress, and instigated to the deed by intoxication; and when we have seen a Vaughan, a Brock, a Pelham, and a Power, the deliberate murderers of their countrymen, under the sanction of the Police establishments, screened from justice by those who hired and encouraged them, we can have but little hope,

that the Bloodhounds of Manchester will have justice done them under the present state of things. I, as an individual, have no hesitation in asserting, that the laws which once were the security of the person and property of the inhabitants of this country, are SUBVERTED; and that justice, in consequence, has fled from her seat. Then, under this state of things, let us for a moment enquire what is the duty of the man who wishes to rescue himself and the character of his country from this degradation. If he be sincere in his professions, he will not now say to the Republican, I cannot act in concert with you, because you aim at a more extended suffrage than I do, nor to the *Russell* who talks about removing to the populous town, the franchise of those boroughs, where bribery has been exposed and punished because it has been effected by a private individual, and not under the sanction and influence of the Treasury Lords. No, we must have but two parties, those who wish an effectual change, and those who are determined with their lives to support things as they are. We must have a government by representation, and if we are not strong enough to effect that, it would be far better to live under an absolute Monarchy than to remain as we are. We have nothing now more than a MOCK KING, and a MOCK PARLIAMENT, who are acted on, and moved about at the pleasure of the Boroughmongers. Englishmen! It must not remain so! We are becoming the scoff and the jest of the world, and should this state of things continue half a century longer, we shall become the most insignificant of nations, perhaps tributary to some of our neighbours! Fellow Countrymen, rouse from this fatal apathy, and play the MAN—if you are the creatures, be no longer the slaves of circumstances. Some of you must be exposed to arrests and imprisonments, some even to martyrdom, but recollect that martyrs have been found by millions to superstition, and even by thousands to despotism, and cannot martyrs be found in the great and noble cause of liberating man from his degraded condition? The man who becomes a martyr in any attempt to benefit his country or mankind in general, dies an enviable death. The name of Hampden is never heard nor expressed by a man possessing feeling and common sense, without a degree of veneration and respect. And we have to contend against a far more destructive influence than Hampden died contending with. Had we some Hampdens in the Common House of Boroughmonger interest, they would soon rouse a feel-



ing in the country, sufficiently formidable to make it a House of Commons, devoted to the welfare of the Commons of Great Britain only. But no, the People are now left to act for themselves, they have no representatives, there is no hope of their obtaining any by the concession of their oppressors, and since they cannot make known their will by representation or delegation, they must do it collectively. The best mode of doing this, is by public meetings, and they should be convened regularly, and periodically, either weekly, monthly, or quarterly. If public meetings cannot be held peaceably without the interference of military, then the People are bound by the laws of their country, to resist any such wanton, illegal, and murderous attack, as that made on the peaceable inhabitants of Manchester; but more shall be said on this subject, when it is seen what part the executive means to take in this affair. One of two things must be done, either the Magistrates and Yeomanry Cavalry, must be brought to trial for MURDER, or some charge of High Treason must be trumped up against those who were connected with that meeting. In the latter case, the Magistrates will be enabled to imprison all those who are likely to be called as evidences against them, for seven months, and perhaps by that time get them all destroyed; for those men who could direct their bloodhounds to attack and destroy a peaceable meeting at noon day, are capable of directing the dagger or the poison cup to the cell of their prisoner. Oh! England, to what wilt thou come! formed by nature to contain a race of men, who might live in the most polished state of society, and command the respect of all the inhabitants of the earth, yet still the most miserable! 'Tis misrule—fatal misrule, that keeps the better half of thy children in a state of wretchedness, and starvation, whilst the few squander thy produce. When shall thy sons shake off that grovelling apathy, and awake to a sense of their degradation? When shall they again reap that which they sow? Famed for industry and peaceful content, thy inhabitants have been distinguished among nations for having at their command a plentiful supply of the necessaries of life, whilst now they are become a squalid, half-starved race of men, first goaded to desperation by starvation, then considered by their rulers fit objects for destruction by the bayonet and the sabre. That a great deal of misery and wretchedness exists in the country, our oppressors, who are the cause of it, readily admit, yet not one step will they take to alleviate it. The

case is, that the whole system of Government is hinged on baseness and corruption, and should the attempt to amend an atom of it, be made by those who have brought it to this pitch, it would tend to accelerate the decay of the whole. Therefore, say they, we will cling to our ill-gotten gains, whilst any thing remains to be extracted from a perishing country, abandon it when it can no longer be kept together, and retire to some other country, with what we can collect from the spoil! Englishmen! This is the exact state of things under which you exist. There is yet time to recover yourselves, but for your families, and your country's sake, defer not till to-morrow, that which should be done to-day. Whilst you delay, your enemies will seek to weaken you—you cannot be stronger than at the present time—resolve and you will speedily accomplish—your enemies have taken the alarm and are on the alert—prepare and strike at them. Let your voice come round them like the rolling thunder, and let your indignation flash on them, as the destructive fluid of the terrific lightning. The majority of you have nothing to lose and every thing to gain, far better for you would it be to perish in an attempt to recover for yourselves and families the necessaries of life, than to perish from the direful effects of hunger and starvation.

As every incident that can be placed on record relative to the massacre in Manchester, may be considered of importance, I will here state the substance of one of the Resolutions which I was informed was to have been submitted to the meeting for its adoption.—“Resolved, that this meeting do henceforth abstain from the use of malt, and spirituous liquors, and all other exciseable articles, as a measure calculated to produce the most salutary effects, both in health, interest, and future welfare.” And as a further proof of the peaceable disposition and intention of those who called that meeting, a dinner was provided for 200, and a resolution to set the example of drinking nothing but water, at or after the dinner. This has not the appearance of exciting the passions to commit riot, and breaches of the peace, or to create insurrection. The passions of the Yeomanry Cavalry and Police, were inflamed by strong and spirituous liquors, their reason and reflection (if ever they possessed either) was first eradicated by these means, and then they became fit agents for the *Nadins*, the *Withingtons*, the *Traffords*, and the *Fletchers* of Manchester. This observation on the dinner brings to my recollection the mis-statements and misrepresentations which have gone through the newspapers,



emanating from the murderers themselves; the article is thus: "The industry that is used in circulated incendiary placards and pamphlets in this part of the country is really astonishing. As a corroborating proof of this circumstance, at least 5000 copies of the accompanying *Address*, were seized and found in the coach that conveyed HUNT and his junto to the meeting on Monday—they were enclosed in a sheet of brown paper, bearing the following direction:—"Mr. Carlile, for Mr. Hunt."

["The Address here referred to, is that which was agreed to at Smithfield, under the title of an Address of the *People of Great Britain to the People of Ireland*."] *of Birmingham*

The facts are these. A gentleman who travelled from Birmingham to Manchester with me on the Sunday, and who slept at the Star Inn in an adjoining room to mine, presented me with this parcel to deliver to Mr. Hunt, and in addition to the address above mentioned, was written "with a letter." Now I carried this *immense* parcel (which if there had been 5000, they would have weighed 60lbs.) in my hand from the Star Inn to Smedley Cottage, and by some little perambulation of the streets, (never before having been in Manchester,) made the journey about three miles. In presenting them to Mr. Hunt, according to the direction, he said he could make no use of them, and did not know a better mode of distribution, than by putting them on the plates at dinner. For this purpose they were put into the *Barouche*, and I will stake my credit that there would not have been one for every plate, if 200 plates had been laid. This, then, is the "extensive distribution of incendiary pamphlets;" a number not amounting to 200, has been magnified by men, who appear as capable of lying, as of committing murder, to the immense number of 5000.

Shall it be said of England, that a Prince, a Duke, or a Magistrate, shall murder their fellow-citizens with impunity, whilst the man who resisteth his oppressor, and kills him to save his own life, is executed as a murderer? Forbid it Nature! But this is now to be attempted at Manchester. The wholesale murderers say, that before they began to use their sabres, a pistol was fired and a brick-bat thrown. This is false. Hundreds had felt the sabre before the slightest resistance was made. I was informed of one instance, where a pistol was fired with effect. One of the yeomanry cavalry made a cut at a boy, and missed him, when the boy ran away; but such was the fury and fiend-like disposition of the horseman, (for the name of *soldier* they disgrace,) that

he galloped after him, and was in the act of making another cut, when a man, who witnessed the scene, drew a pistol from under his coat, and shot the assassin. Surely this conduct on the part of the man with the pistol was laudable; and where is the man that would, in any mixed company of ten or twelve persons, impeach his conduct or motive for firing?

The word *Soldier*, according to my comprehension and definition, is an expression of security and protection, that is, that those men in any civilized state who leave the plough or any other manual labour, and become soldiers under the presumption that they are to guard and to protect the persons and property of those by whose industry they are supported; and that at any particular crisis or moment of danger, in case of invasion or any thing of that nature, the soldier should fill the post of danger, in preference to the unarmed and untrained citizen: because the citizen artisan, agriculturist, or labourer, has parted with a portion of the profits arising from his labour, to prepare the citizen soldier to the use of arms and military duty; and the citizen untrained to the use of arms, however virtuous or bold he may be to stand forward and meet the aggressor, should be kept in reserve whilst there is a sufficient military power, and not be called on to act, unless in case of emergency. This is my conception of the duty and character of a soldier. But in England, civilization is retrograding, and we are compelled to pay soldiers, that they may be ready to cut our own throats, at the nod of the magistrates. At least, that this is the object of our Rulers and Legislators, there can be no doubt. I hope the citizen soldier, who is a real soldier, and knows what military service is, is not prepared to do this. That they will not forget that they have Fathers, Mothers, Brothers, Sisters, and relatives amongst the People, and whilst perhaps they are called on by our miscreant rulers to destroy one portion of the People, perhaps another body of soldiers, at or near their homes, are actually ordered to destroy their relatives and friends. For it has been the plan of the Rulers of this country for some years past to remove the different troops of soldiers to the greatest distance from their native homes, so as to make the Soldiers and the People as foreign as possible to each other. In the days of yore, the militia were always stationary in the county in which they were raised, unless in case of actual war or invasion in the country. But in the last war on the liberties of France and the continent of Europe, the militia



of the three countries, England, Ireland, and Scotland, were completely interchanged. The English and Scotch militias were bribed to go to Ireland, and the Irish militia were bribed to come to England and Scotland, the better to prepare them to cut the throats of each other's friends and relatives, by stirring up feuds and prejudices amongst the People and Military. I remember, when a lad, hearing a serjeant of the South Devon militia boast of having seen, whilst in Ireland, one of the unfortunate "United Irishmen," hung up by the neck twenty times; that he was half hung, or hung till half dead, then cut down, and allowed to breathe a little, nineteen times for their amusement, and on the twentieth time was let hang until dead! I merely mention this to shew to what an extent provincial prejudices might be carried in the minds of illiterate, though perhaps honest men; and we have too many lamentable proofs on record of such men being filled with such prejudices, at the instigation of their officers.

At a time like the present, when every thing has the appearance of war, between the oppressor and the oppressed; when corruption is marshalling her troops, instructing her tools, and putting into exercise every engine that her malice can invent, to crush the efforts, and the hopes of the country; when ball cartridges have been distributed, swords new ground, lieutenants of counties, sheriffs, judges, and magistrates, have all received their orders to put their shoulders to the wheel, it is evident that every effort has been and will be made to drive an injured, and insulted People to deeds of desperation and vengeance; for, fools and idiots as the borough-mongers are, they could not for a moment, suppose they could *intimidate* millions of Britons; or drive them from that high ground of their "just undoubted right and inheritance," which they have now chosen! No such idea could ever cross their minds, and their sole object was to drive them to some deeds of desperation, that might cast a stain upon their "glorious cause," and by that means prevent a number of upright men from joining their fellow countrymen in their demands for their birthright.— But most happily, they have been disappointed, and the prudent conduct of the requisitionists at Manchester, has given them a more fatal blow than they have received for some time; as every prudent man in the kingdom, must now be well aware on which side the appellation of "violence and anarchy" will now rest.

The Boroughmongers are well aware that the magical

voice of truth and common sense, though uttered by a few uninstructed mechanics, is making the most rapid and electrifying progress through the minds of every man in Britain, however many of them may be prevented for a time, from shewing their true thoughts. And the idea, that their peaceful and noble conduct will soon induce every *honest* man of property and influence to join them, has wrought that horror and consternation among them, which is only leading them more precipitately to their doom!

All their taunts, irony, satire, and malignant misrepresentations of the proceedings of the Reformers, only make the *passive* bulk of the community more anxious to hear about them, to discuss their claims, and hear their reasonings, and wherever truth and justice shall be found, there will their warmest affections center; every act of unfair play, persecution, and punishment attempted to be heaped upon their heads, rebounds with double force upon their *oppressors*, and renders the Reformers the object of public regard and respect.

One of the greatest demonstrations that a conspiracy now exists amongst the wealthy People of this country, to oppress and enslave the poor, is the conduct now pursued by the judges.

Mr. Justice BAILEY lately declared at York, that the kingdom was in a flourishing state, and that the Taxes were necessary and beneficial. GARROW, more recently at Croydon, delivered a charge to the Grand Jury, inciting the Yeomanry Volunteers of Surrey to arrange themselves against the Reformers, then about to meet on *Monday last* on *Kennington Common*, and the Grand Jury have sent forth an avowal of the same sentiments, repeating with parrot like accuracy, the language of the charge and the recent *royal* proclamation.

When Judges will incite to blood and murder on the seats of Justice; when Grand Juries, forgetting their duties to investigate into criminal offences, turn the inquest into the purposes of political slander, and there avow their determination of supporting tyranny, oppression, and the measures of plundering factions; it is time for the People to be on the alert, and betake themselves to the means of self protection, and as by the Bill of Rights allowed, provide themselves with arms against the coming evil, and to resist oppression. If unfeeling avaricious, and time serving monsters, will urge a distressed and miserable People to desperation, let them abide the consequences, let them fear the reaction of revenge, and the punishment their villainous



conduct is likely to bring down on their guilty heads. The People's conduct has been peaceable, their demands are just; obstinacy and intolerance are the conduct of their enemies, let them suddenly change it:—it would shew to the world a becoming prudence, and save them from the indignant vengeance of a highly enraged and greatly wronged People.

There being still many persons who are weak and silly enough to imagine that the present House of Commons, (as it is ridiculously called,) will of its own accord, do something in the way of Reform, the delusion must certainly vanish, when they become acquainted with the tenure on which a large proportion of the members thereof hold their seats; it is therefore necessary they should be informed, that it has become a practice with most of the great Borough Proprietors, to obtain from every person they nominate to a seat, previous to the return being made, a regular written acceptance of the CHILTERN HUNDREDS signed by his own hand, leaving a vacant space to insert a date, and which if the *tool* thus returned, should at any period evince the least spirit of independence, and give a single vote against the interest or opinion of the lordly borough-monger, is instantly filled up and forwarded to the Speaker, who immediately declares the seat vacated, and issues a new writ accordingly, and so peremptorily has this system been acted on in some instances, that it actually occurred twice during the last Parliament, that the members concerned were totally unacquainted with the favor conferred on them, till they went to take their place in the House as usual, and were then and there informed that their dignity of Senatorship had evaporated.

Let Corruption's poison swell her victims till they burst; an honest man has neither act nor part with them!

Let them strain their lungs, with threats of persecution and vengeance, till they are hoarse—"they pass by us, as the idle wind which we regard not!" They CANNOT punish us! We are surrounded by the best feelings of every honest man in the kingdom; and every effort of their's to wrong and oppress us, covers our heads with unfading glory, and their's with indelible infamy! The poorest and most oppressed among us is now acquainted with his *rights* and his *duties*, and every effort of our enemies to make us relinquish the former, or swerve from the latter, will prove as impotent as the efforts of a petty tempest against the "gnarled oak."

We have no thought that we wish to conceal; therefore there is no *treason* among us. The bill of Major Cartwright proves that our demands are nothing more than for a "renovation" of our constitution: it is so *plain* that any school-boy may understand it, and so *true*, that every effort of our enemies to contradict or deny it, only proves that they have been *biting at a file*.

The passing of this bill, which deprives no one of his lawful rights, but restores the usurped rights of many, is all that we demand, *and less we will not take!* And to the refusal to pass it, and not to any other cause, must be ascribed the present agitated state of the country; and the blood of those who may happen to perish in this cause, shall rest with those men who refuse to listen to the voice of reason and justice!

The most important mode of attack to be made without arms, is to attack the revenue, to withhold the taxes, and to abstain from the use of all exciseable articles.

It is an incontrovertible fact, that a very great proportion of the vast sums of money collected in these kingdoms under the shape of Taxes, is exacted from the middling and humbler classes of the community, that the money after being so exacted, is devoted to every vile purpose inimical to the welfare and happiness of those from whom it has been wrung. With such glaring facts staring us in the face, ought we not to take a view of our domestic establishments, in order to curtail, if possible, the consumption, (if ever so trifling) of any of the articles from which the Borough-monger draw the means of prosecuting us? And though, alas, domestic comforts (or rather necessities) are too much abridged from the above cause, yet I am convinced that much more might be done through self-denial, or from principle; and as our fair country-women are entering so intrepidly into the cause of Reform, I wish to address myself equally to them. There can be no difficulty in selecting those articles which are taxed, a difficulty might arise to select one not taxed, however I shall be bold enough to say that malt and spirituous liquors, tea, tobacco, &c. are articles used in much profusion, I might say in waste, and for persons professing principles of Reform to drink to intoxication is preposterous indeed, seeing that while they sacrifice at the Altar of Bacchus, they are nerving the arm of tyranny.

The following calculations will farther illustrate what might be effected, viz.



Suppose two millions of persons convinced of the necessity of Reform, were resolved so to abridge the consumption of particular articles as to cut off three pence per day in taxes; this, in one year, would amount to the sum of £9,125,000, and taking Mr. Preston's estimates, that working people pay more than half their earnings away in taxes, I conceive it practicable to a much greater extent. Would not such measures shake despotism itself, and teach eloquence that the contributions of the lower orders, the mob, and the swinish multitude, are of some consequence to the state?

This is a most important recommendation, and worthy the attention of all classes of society, for whilst they are making it a weapon of attack on the Borough-mongers, the most beneficial results will accrue to themselves, they would feel it sensibly both in health, comfort, and in pocket, for all the articles above alluded to, are at the same time the most expensive, and the least necessary of all articles required to support human nature. Let a man, or a man and his wife, once resolve to carry this point, and they will soon find reasons to rejoice at it. Our fields and gardens produce many a root and herb that would make a beverage equally pleasant, and far more wholesome than tea. We are too apt to neglect to do important things, because we imagine that our individual act would not effect the object aimed at; certainly it would not, but let each be eager to set the example, and we shall soon perceive its importance. Oppression and despotism must be destroyed, and I for one, would appeal to any and every weapon to effect its destruction.\*

R. CARLILE.

*Gillspur Street Compter,  
Wednesday, August 25th, 1819.*

\* Several valuable correspondences having been sent for insertion in the *Political Register* prior to the change of title, their insertion could not possibly take place in the *Republican*, after expressing a resolution in a former page not to admit any, without the real name and address. It will be perceived that we have availed ourselves of their able suggestions.

## RECORD OF PERSECUTION,

*Under the Administration of LIVERPOOL, CASTLEREAGH, CANNING, SIDMOUTH, &c.*

RICHARD CARLILE, of Fleet-street, Publisher, was arrested on the 14th of August, 1817, on three warrants granted by Mr. Justice Holroyd, on the oath of one Griffin Swanson, a common informer, for publishing the Parodies, the sale of which had been suppressed by Mr. Hone, but for which Mr. H. was afterwards put on three several trials, and as often acquitted, to the great joy of the People, to the great grief of the Administration, and Sir Samuel Shepherd, Knt. Attorney-General, to the acceleration of the death of the then Chief Justice (Ellenborough), and to the intoxication of the present Chief Justice, to see his great prototype defeated as well as himself. On the 15th, he was committed to the King's Bench Prison, by Mr. Justice Holroyd, in default of bail, to the amount of £800, on the three several warrants. On the 13th of November, being called on to plead, he was surprized with a fourth information by the aforesaid Attorney-General, founded on the 18th Number of Vol. I. of Sherwin's Political Register. On the 20th of December, he was liberated, after an imprisonment of eighteen weeks, by entering into recognizances of £300, without either of the four informations being submitted to a Jury then or ever afterwards.

On the 16th day of January, 1819, he was informed that the "Society for the Suppression of Vice," had presented a bill to the Grand Jury, then sitting at the Old Bailey, on a charge of blasphemous Libel for the publication of the Theological Works of Thomas Paine. Bail was immediately presented, and the arrest prevented. The Indictment was removed by *Writ of Certiorari*, to the Court of King's Bench, at the instance of the Society, and further Bail required on the first day of Hilary Term, when an Information was also presented to the Court by the Attorney-General (Shepherd) against the same publication. To both the Indictment and Information, the defendant *imparled*, under an order to plead within the first eight days of Easter Term.

On the 11th day of February, a warrant was granted against the defendant, by Chief Justice Abbott, on an oath made by George Pritchard and Thomas Fair, that defendant had continued the sale of Paine's Theological Works, and that the said George Pritchard intended to prosecute. This warrant was put in force at eight o'clock in the evening, and by ten o'clock defendant was lodged within the walls of Newgate. On the 15th day of February, he was brought from Newgate, by a writ of Habeas Corpus, to the chambers of Mr. Justice Bailey, and bail was tendered and taken (a third



time) to appear and answer to the charge against the same publication. (Pritchard is Solicitor and Secretary to the Society for the Suppression of Vice, and Thomas Fair his clerk. The solicitor to so litigious, so immoral, and so secret a Society, must derive no small profit from his situation. For instance, any poor and weak-minded creature, who may be prosecuted at the instance of this Society, if he comes forward and expresses contrition and penitence for the alledged offence, the prosecution is withdrawn, on the condition that the defendant pays this fellow, Pritchard, £20 or £30, for what are called expences incurred.)—On the first day of Easter Term he pleaded to an Information and Indictment, and, in addition to those, had presented to him another Information, at the instance of the aforesaid Attorney-General, founded on No. 6, Vol. IV. of Sherwin's Weekly Political Register, and another Indictment at the instance of the aforesaid Society, founded on that part of the first volume of the Deist, entitled "Palmer's Principles of Nature." To these last two he again imparled, and on the 4th day of Trinity Term he prayed the Court to stay this accumulation of Informations and Indictments, until those to which he had already pleaded, and was prepared to defend, were disposed of. But the lenient and impartial Judges of the Court of King's Bench, forsooth, could see no need of this, and he must stand prepared to defend five, or perhaps nine, Informations and Indictments at the same time, should it be the pleasure of the Attorney-General. And, after all this, defendant expects, when he has the honour and the satisfaction of meeting the Attorney-General in the Court, (once the Court of Justice,) to hear him expatiate on the mildness of the English laws. The sittings after two different terms, (that is to say, Easter and Trinity) have been suffered to elapse, without bringing the question to an issue, whilst the publications have invariably continued on sale.

On the 21st day of August, being Saturday, he was arrested by a warrant from John Atkins, Lord Mayor of the City of London, and lodged in the Giltspur Street Compter. The warrant set forth, that defendant had published a malicious, seditious, and inflammatory Libel, tending to create disaffection in the minds of his Majesty's subjects, and breaches of the peace. On Monday the 24th, he was conducted to the Mansion House, and brought before the Lord Mayor, who, on finding bail were ready, said, that he should require twenty-four, if not forty-eight hours notice of bail, which was evidently for the purpose of annoyance, and to gratify the malicious caprice of John Atkins, the Lord Mayor, as the names tendered were unexceptionable.

On Tuesday, August 24, he was brought again before the said John Atkins, Mayor, and by a capricious discretion that would have disgraced any other Magistrate, but John Atkins, Mayor, was committed for want of sureties. The person objected to was Mr. Wooler, who holds a house at 58, Sun Street, Bishopsgate, ano-

ther at Croydon, in Surrey, and large premises, as printing-offices, at 76, Fleet Street, and who, I rather think, has as good an income as John Atkins, Mayor, himself. A Mr. Lindsay, a merchant in the city, then tendered himself instead of Mr. Wooler, when John Atkins, Mayor, said he should require forty-eight hours to enquire after him. Mr. Lindsay offered to deposit the amount of bail, when John Atkins, Mayor, refused, and by way of making another effort to obtain a *Baronetcy* and a *Treasury Borough*, committed him for want of sureties.

On Thursday, August 26th, he was again brought before John Atkins, Mayor; and this person not being able to carry his capricious discretion any farther, accepted the bail, but with the threat that if he continued the sale of the Letter, he should do it at his peril.

#### RICHARD CARLILE.

N. B. The persecution of any individual, of a political nature, under the present administration, may be recorded in the pages of the REPUBLICAN, if sent and signed by the sufferer himself, or, should he be dead, by his nearest relative, stating their connection with the deceased as to kin, and procuring a respectable witness as to the facts. As the hour of retribution is near at hand, the Editor is anxious to have recorded the sufferings of the People in the cause of Reform.

R. C.

To the Purchasers of "*Sherwin's Weekly Political Register*."—Those Gentlemen who wish to complete their Sets of this Work, are advised to do it as soon as possible, in order to prevent disappointment, as very few back Numbers are left on hand.

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